1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

619
631

valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

621 ●
578

The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 578 The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

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FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621
578

same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

Tahu Ata (Santa Christina)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

Fatu Hiva (Magdalena)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

Ua Huka (Washington Island)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

Ua Pou (Adams Island)

On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

[184]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXb

through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never overthrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control

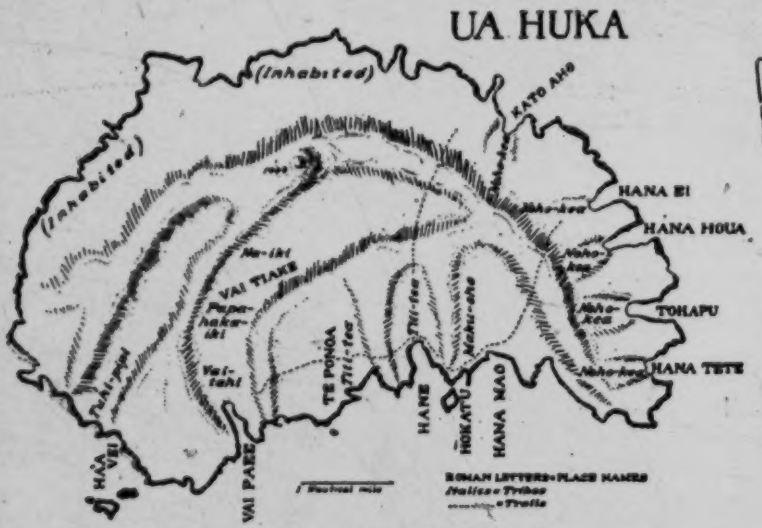

FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'amotua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

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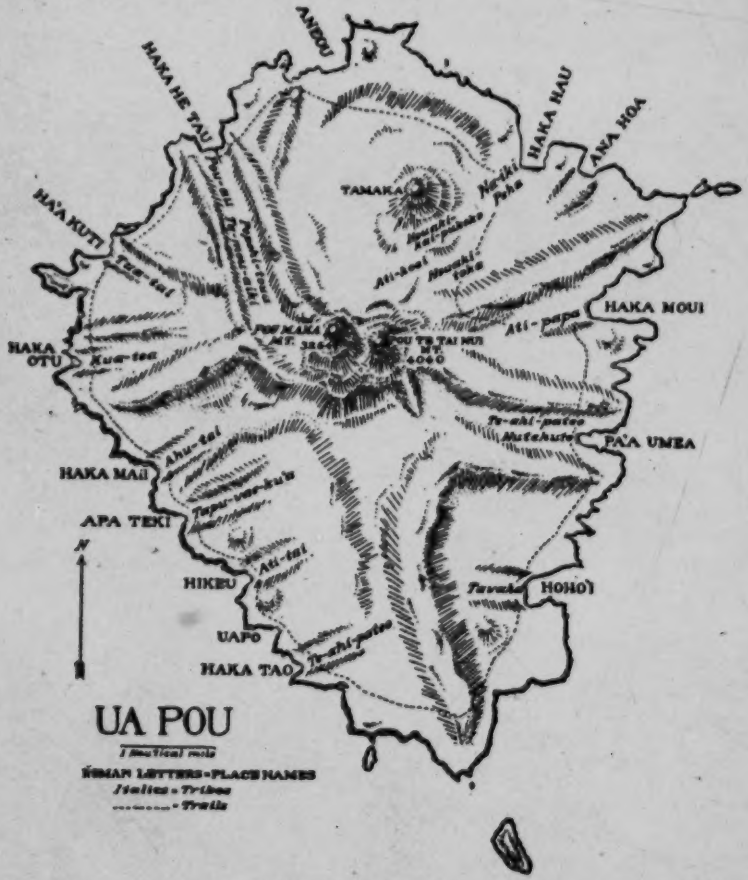

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

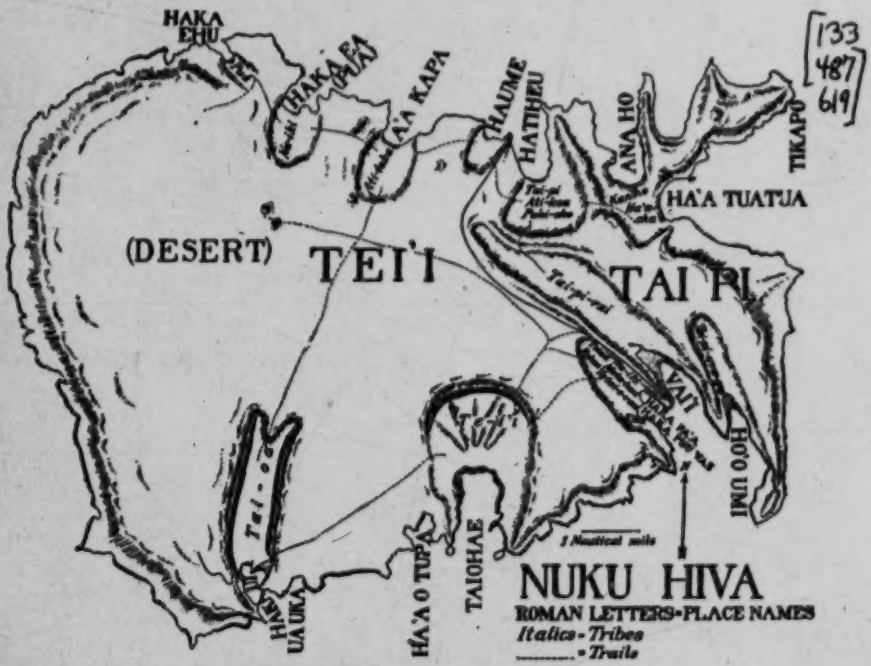

FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during [illegible], indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[4] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[4]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage.

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes.

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224):

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses. Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono* were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrangement, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

883 as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating themselves with *eno*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge [771] on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

● 621 The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. [361] Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone platform, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone platform; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding platforms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu*, an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually elevated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae)*, which also belonged to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua*, which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept. These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. Every tribe had at least one *me'ae*, or temple, and at least one *tohua*, or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the people of his tribe as *hua'a*, the same word as is used for blood and adop-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of
621 the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 554 593 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, respectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo*, or *hamua)*, who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki*. The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 554 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*, and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu*, chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki*. She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*. Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki*, the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all families were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu*, sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent.

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship.

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock.

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[23] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokuu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-
● 621 valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sea to fish, and were consequently driven to eating rats. Some say they braised the rats, others say they mashed them in the small round holes to be seen today in the stones of house platforms, and ate them raw with *popoi*. Today meat of various kinds is cut in strips, salted, washed, and dried in the sun; but it is doubtful if it was so conserved in former days.

If there is no *inai* to go with the *popoi*, a ripe banana or a piece of coconut will suffice. Formerly the eggs of the *tara* (small birds which live on the rocks by the sea) were broken into a length of large bamboo, which was sealed with a leaf tied over the open end. When baked, this dish also served as a substitute for meat and fish.

VEGETABLE, FRUIT, AND NUT DISHES

When breadfruit is gone and the sour *ma* is growing scarce, the natives begin to utilize other native products. A variety of dishes are made. Among these are *feikai puauhi* made of raw wild yams peeled and cut up into the coconut-leaf baskets and baked in the oven with coconut milk in the fashion of the *mei feikai; feikai huetu* (a kind of wild banana called *fei* in Tahiti) made of raw, very ripe *huetu* and coconut milk, cooked in the same way; *feikai ta'o* made sometimes with the large *kape ta'o* (*Colocasia esculenta*); *feikai kuma'a* (sweet potato); *feikai hue arahi* (pumpkin); and *feikai meika* (banana). All the fruits must be half-cooked before the *feikai* is made.

Taro forms the basis for a native dish called *poke*. The taro is first peeled and grated (formerly on coral). This is a difficult task, since contact with the raw taro makes the hands itch, so that they must be held now and then over the fire to relieve them, and never, during the process, be put into water. The gratings are wrapped in fau leaves, and baked in the oven. Meanwhile, coconut flesh has been grated, mixed with pounded *ti* leaves to aid in extracting the oil and the whole squeezed from a strainer into a bowl. Hot stones are dropped into the bowl of liquid, which is stirred constantly for about half an hour, until the oil forms and the sauce, which is called *koneko* (8), thickens. When the taro is taken out of the oven, it is pounded with a stone, mixed with the sauce, and eaten hot. *Poke ta'o* can also be made with ripe breadfruit, when such is to be had. The grated taro is kneaded with the flesh of ripened breadfruit on the food board, after which the dough is wrapped in taro leaves, with an outer covering of banana leaves, and left for two days in the ordinary oven. It is eaten with oil of coconut as is the pure *ta'o poke*. Today taro is also baked in its skin in an oven in the same way that sweet potatoes are cooked.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.